592 /30 cont./ The distribution of the married couples over the various houses was as follows:

in 1 house there lived three married couples;
in 24 houses there lived two married couples;
in 81 houses there lived one married couple;
in 23 houses there lived no married couple, but, for instance, a widower with his children, or an old unmarried woman with a few orphaned nephews and nieces.

Of the 24 houses with two married couples, 23 were occupied by married couples related to each other; the 24th was the case just reported, which turned out to be very temporary. In 22 of the 23 cases, the kin relationship was [591] that of an older and married child; in the 23rd a brother and sister lived with their respective spouses.

The three married couples who lived together in one house consisted of one parental couple with two married children.

Of the 23 two-family houses in which only kinsmen lived, 15 were occupied by these two families alone (that is to say, parents plus children, including one married child with /male or female/ spouse and /31/ child/ren/.) In the remaining 8 cases, one or more kinsmen of one of the two spouses lived with these two families.

In the 81 houses with one married couple, it appeared that in 52 cases this married couple occupied the house as a closed family unit (thus, only parents plus children); in the remaining 29 cases, one or more kinsmen of man or wife lived with them (1).

1. An exception has already been reported on p. 23.

In the three-family house one kinsman of the man lived there in addition to the three families.

592 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40
602 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures
•[591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes
562 in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

591 /32 cont./ The tie among women who are relatives and live
602 in houses close to each other is very strong. In this situation, the result of the study of marriage residence fits very well. A tendency toward matrilocal marriage is observable.

In several cases it was observed that a married couple with children, plus, for instance, the father or an unmarried sister of the wife, lived together in one house. In such cases one is readily inclined to assume that one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage, /33/ as for instance where the wife's mother has died and the rest of the family has continued to live together with the man who has married into the family. In many cases, however, this is difficult to trace. The only pure, and at the same time workable, criterion for indicating when one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage and when with a patrilocal one is given in those cases where two or more married couples live together in one house, that is to say, where one parental couple lives with one married child. The number then becomes smaller; however, one is on firm ground. Twenty-two such cases were registered. The house with three married couples appeared to be inhabited by a parental couple with two married children. Altogether, therefore, 24 married children lived with their parents.

In contrast to 16 matrilocal marriages, there are 8 patrilocal ones. The figures illustrate no more than a tendency, albeit a clearly understandable tendency toward matrilocal marriage. This tendency becomes even more comprehensible if we also look at other factors.

The reasons given for a patrilocal marriage always concern expediency. As such the fact is mentioned that the man is the only child and that therefore he must provide for his parents; or that in so doing the man will stay closer to his sawahs. Or else it is said that there is more room in the house. If, on the other hand, one asks why the couple went to live with the parents of the wife, the reasons are more vague. It is regarded as a matter of course for which no special reason needs to exist that a man moves in with his wife.

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 593] the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 562 591 593 The strict separation between the sexes, which results in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds, thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does the stiff relationship between father and son.

635 Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

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[844]

/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

[125]

I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949). Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ Kapala-group houses had remained unchanged in their composition, as well as 4 of the 19 belonging to the Mangenre group, and 14 of the 33 belonging to the Rest group.

Those who had been registered as residents of Bontoramba as of July 1, 1949 and who did not live there a year ago were registered as immigrants, and those who lived there on July 1, 1948 but who were no longer present on July 1, 1949 were registered as emigrants. Persons who in the course of the year had gone to live in another house in the kampong were registered as transmigrants (1). Distributed over the three

1. Transmigrants are counted once as individuals, but they bring about a change in the composition of two house/holds/s.

groups (Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest), one obtains the following picture of the mobility of individuals.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Trans-migrants	Total Number of Individuals Who Changed Houses
Kapala	26	18	34	78 of a total of 536 members of the Kapala group
Mangenre	6	23	12	41 of a total of 94 members of the Mangenre group
Rest	10	12	4	26 of a total of 173 members of the Rest group
Total	42	53	50	145 of a total of 803 kampong residents as of July 1, 1949

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

[125]

1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

166 /54 cont./ located in another kampong emigrated there.
591 In two cases a marriage by flight was the reason for a family
592 migration, and in two others the fact that the house became severely damaged and run down. In one case a quarrel was given as the reason, but this concerns two families in one house who were not related to each other. In another case a married couple from a neighboring adat community came to live in Bontoramba in order to work for an employer. In the remaining five cases, the motives did not become apparent (2).

2. The small number of children (35) in these 22 families is due to the fact that some of these are young families who moved into a house of their own for the first time. Two recently married silariang couples likewise had (as yet) only a few children.

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While 79 persons migrated as a family unit, 66 individuals moved to other houses. The reasons given for these changes vary a great deal. An old widower lives alternately with one of his children. An orphan goes from one uncle and aunt to the other. An old deaf-mute man lives in turn with his many -- and distant -- nephews and nieces, who prefer to see him go rather than come. The contracting of a marriage, the committing of silariang, are further reasons for changing houses. A Javanese and a poverty-stricken orphan who came to live and work with people in Bontoramba raised the number of immigrants. A sickly little boy goes to stay with his grandfather for a few weeks or months./55/ The grandfather's house, incidentally, is one minute's walk away from the boy's

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591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
[861] Experience teaches that in another environment such naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

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865 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana [567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

● [591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
591 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

/188 cont./

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81. nakatjinnai Somba, napammattikang iloro' Bate-salapang.

which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.

82. Bunting nilekkakko paleng tunipalele bellakang;

Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591 795]

1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83. niĕrang ri bori'maraĕng, pa' rasangang nampa nuondjo'; bori nampa nula'bakki.

you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.

84. Nukamma todong djonga,

You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,

85. mattoa' ri sampa' mangagajangan tunumalo.

which shyly looks at the passersby.

86. Nakana kelonna Daĕng bunting bura'nea; Nampa' ʾlampa riballakku, nakudjoli pakkibukku, nakugulung tapperekku kupattantuna, kalengku lammantang puli.

The song of the bridegroom goes:
Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my door and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

Malays AN5
Makassar 066
Javanese 065
Tenggerese 0E8
Mentawi 0D9

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Batak 0D5
Gorontolo 0G4
Moluccas 0H1
New Guinea 0J1

I Br 342 621 162 [66 cont.] average a man, woman, and two children, thus 600 persons, all belonging to one family [familie] (1). Not only among the

1. Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 4th series, 5th part, p. 305. Perelaer, Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks, p. 128.

MO NG MI G Bt 342 621 591 Dajak, but also among the other uncivilized tribes one finds a number of family units living together in one great house, for example, among the Batak, the Alfoer of north Celebes (2), in

2. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 486 and 493.

T J MK I 342 621 174 591 the Moluccas, among the Papuans, and even among the so much more highly developed Malays on central Sumatra (3). One can

3. Verkerk Pistorius, op. cit., p. 40.

state that this way of living was formerly common. Among some peoples this situation has already given way to another in which each dwelling is the residence of only one family unit and consequently the houses are smaller, as among the Javanese, Bt Makassarese, Buginess, and others. On Java, too, however, a T number of family units undoubtedly lived together in a single Mt dwelling. As evidence for this, the living together custom is MI still found among the pagans of the Tengger Mountains.

Br I 342 As we have noted, the houses are very large. Two types can be distinguished: in the first place, the houses that are built lengthways; and, secondly, those that have been built sideways. Generally, however, they have the first form and are very long, but comparatively narrow. Among the Dajak, they may be 250 ells long, but only 20 to 30 ells wide. Boyle saw a house that was 1,000 feet (380 ells) long. This is also found

B [69 cont.]
342 Near the entryway there is the tugu, a stone niche for offerings,
782 in which the morning and evening offerings are deposited (1).

1. Jacobs, Eenigen tijd onder de Baliëre [Some Time among the Balinese], p. 87.

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591 Thus we see that among the Balinese, although the family
342 still lives together communally, each household has its own residence. Among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese we find houses inhabited by only one household unit [gezin], and all the members of the same family [familie] no longer live together. Also, their houses no longer stand on piles, but simply on the ground. We can distinguish two types of houses built on the ground, windowless huts and houses with windows. Those of the
J Javanese usually belong among the former. They show great
342 variety in form and layout, as is shown by the division made by
352 Mr. Poensen, who gives five different shapes. The omah grija
353 limas with a very high roof running up to a ridge is typical and very popular. (2)

2. Poensen, "Iets over de woning der Javanen [Some remarks on the dwelling of the Javanese]," Med. v. w. h. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XIX, p. 120 ff.

[70] As a rule, the interior of the house is divided into six rooms. The middle one of the three that border on the right wall is called bomâ (a) and is the room in which a couch stands. This room is sometimes used as a sleeping room, but customarily it serves as a ceremonial room which is used for weddings. During the festivities on such occasions, the young couple sits there, surrounded by female guests, and members of the family. The other two rooms, b and c, on the right wall (sĕṇtong and sarong)

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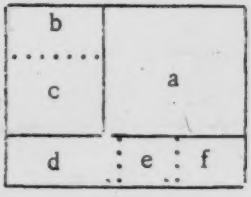

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C.[pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past